

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 ISLAMA 05544 01 OF 02 301429Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----301435Z 128929 /47

O 301100Z MAY 77  
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 1936  
AMEMBASSY PARIS NIACT IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 5544

EXDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM CONSTABLE

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PK, US, PFOR  
SUBJ: BHUTTO AND PAKISTAN ON THE EVE OF THE TALKS

1. AS YOU PREPARE FOR YOUR MEETING WITH AZIZ AHMED, I THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE USEFUL IF YOU HAD A LAST MINUTE UPDATE ON THE PRIME MINISTER'S MOOD AND SOME THOUGHTS ON THE COURSE OF YOUR TALKS IN PARIS.

2. WE ARE REPORTING SEPTTEL (ISLAMABAD 5543) A COLUMN BY H.K. BURKI - WHO HAS BEEN SPEARHEADING THE ANTI-AMERICAN CAMPAIGN IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE PRESS - ON YOUR MEETING IN PARIS. WE BELIEVE THE ARTICLE, CALMER IN TONE AND LESS VITRIOLIC THAN HIS PAST WRITING, WAS INSPIRED BY THE PRIME MINISTER (BURKI OFTEN FLOATS TRIAL BALLOONS FOR BHUTTO AND GIVES AN INSIGHT INTO HOW INFLUENTIAL ELEMENTS IN THE GOP WOULD LIKE THE TALKS TO GO. BASICALLY BURKI SAYS THAT THE INITIATIVE FOR NORMALIZATION RESTS WITH US SINCE PAKISTAN IS THE AGGRIEVED PARTY, THAT OUR RELATIONSHIP IN THE PAST HAS BEEN UNHEALTHY AND CONTRARY TO PAKISTAN'S INTERESTS AND THAT IT MAY BE TIME TO ESTABLISH A NEW AND MORE "PRAG-MATIC" RELATIONSHIP.

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3. I WOULD NOT CONTEND THAT BHUTTO HAS IRREVOCABLY DECIDED TO SCUTTLE HIS PAST RELATIONSHIP WITH US, HOWEVER THE BURKI COLUMN IS THE LATEST IN A NUMBER OF SIGNALS THAT MAKE ME SOMEWHAT PESSIMISTIC ABOUT WHAT MIGHT FOLL THE TALKS HERE IN PAKISTAN. I FEAR THERE MAY BE A SOMEWHAT EQUIVOCAL AND UNSATISFACTORY SITUATION AFTER THE PARIS

MEETING. ON THE ONE HAND, YOU MIGHT HAVE, AS BHUTTO INDICATED IN HIS MEETING WITH ME, AZIZ AHMED PROFESSING A DESIRE TO RETURN OUR RELATIONS TO AN AMICABLE FOOTING AND SAYING THAT WITH A LITTLE UNDERSTANDING ON BOTH SIDES, ALL WILL BE WELL. THIS WOULD REFLECT THAT BHUTTO STILL APPRECIATES THE BENEFITS HE GAINS FROM HIS TIES WITH US.

4. AT THE SAME TIME IN PAKISTAN, THE PM FACES SEVERE CHALLENGES - NOT THE LEAST OF WHICH IS THE POSSIBILITY OF DISINTEGRATION OF HIS OWN PARTY AND HE WILL NOT GIVE UP LIGHTLY ANY TOOL THAT HE FEELS MAY HELP HIM, HOWEVER MARGINALLY, IN HIS BATTLE FOR SURVIVAL. THIS INCLINATION TO CONTINUE TO USE THE ANTI-AMERICAN THEME WILL BE REINFORCED BY CONTINUING PRESSURE ON THE PM FROM THE LEFT IN HIS COTIERIE FOR A BASIC CHANGE IN PAKISTAN'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES. FINALLY, THE CHANCES OF NEW NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS ARE INCREASING, AND ANTI-AMERICANISM WILL MAKE A GOOD CAMPAIGN SLOGAN FOR THE PPP. THEREFORE, WHILE ENDURING FRIENDSHIP MAY BE THE HEART OF AZIZ AHMED'S PRESENTATION IN PARIS, BACK IN PAKISTAN, BHUTTO'S MINIONS MAY WELL CONTINUE TO BEAT THE ANTI-AMERICAN DRUM.

5. THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST US CONTINUES. EVEN THOUGH BHUTTO TOLD ME IN OUR TALK (ISLAMABAD 5292) THAT HE WAS TRYING TO SET THE STAGE FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE MEETING IN PARIS, THE INTENSITY OF THE CAMPAIGN HAS NOT DECREASED AND HAS, IN FACT, BECOME MORE SCURRILOUS WITH THE PERSONAL ATTACK ON OUR FORMER POLITICAL COUNSELOR. DURING THE PAST WEEK, FOUR  
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FEDERAL CABINET MINISTERS (INCLUDING BHUTTO'S OWN COUSIN WHOM BHUTTO TOLD ME HE HAD TURNED OFF) HAVE EITHER EMPLICITLY OR EXPLICITLY CRITICIZED THE U.S. FOR ATTEMPTING TO OVERTHROW THE PRIME MINISTER. THIS HAS STRENGTHENED OUR VIEW THAT IF AZIZ AHMED COMES TO PARIS WITH A PROMISE TO STOP THE ANTI-AMERICAN CAMPAIGN, IT IS IN OUR INTEREST TO SEE AN EARNEST OF THEIR INTENTIONS BEFORE WE TALK TO THE PAKISTANIS ABOUT OTHER ISSUES IN WHICH THEY HAVE AN INTEREST.

6. I BELIEVE BHUTTO HAS TWO SPECIFIC REASONS, IN TERMS OF HIS BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH US, FOR ALLOWING THE CAMPAIGN TO CONTINUE AS A PRELUDE TO YOUR MEETING WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER. THEY OFFER AN INSIGHT INTO HIS STRATEGY FOR THE TALKS. THE PM MAY THINK HE HAS US ON THE DEFENSIVE ON THIS ISSURE AND HE WANTS TO PUSH HIS ADVANTAGE. THERE ARE INDICATIONS HE IS CHARACTERIZING US AS THE SUITOR AND MAY BE IN PART BELIEVE WE ARE MORE ANXIOUS THAN HE TO RESTORE OUR RELATIONS TO NORMAL. ALSO HE MAY THINK THAT IF THE CAMPAIGN CONTINUES, HIS BARGAINING POSITION IS BETTER SINCE AZIZ

AHMED CAN POINT TO THE HIGH EMOTIONS ON THIS ISSUE BACK HOME AND EMPHASIZE HOW HARD IT IS TO STOP THIS KIND OF CAMPAIGN ONCE THE PEOPLE'S FEELINGS ARE INVOLVED. WHETHER BHUTTO ALLOWED THE CAMPAIGN CONTINUE FOR ONE OR BOTH REASONS, IT SERVES TO REINFORCE OUR VIEW THAT WE MUST NOT SACRIFICE FIRMNESS IN ORDER TO BE MORE CONCILIATORY IN THE PARIS MEETING.

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O 301100Z MAY 77  
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 1937  
AMEMBASSY PARIS NIACT IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 5544

EXDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM CONSTABLE

7. I DO NOT THINK BHUTTO BELIEVES WE ARE ENGAGED IN A MASSIVE CONSPIRACY AGAINST HIM. HOWEVER, HE OFTEN VIEWS HIS RELATIONS WITH FNNATIONS, AS WELL AS WITH HIS SUPPORTERS, AS A ZERO SUM GAME. WHILE WE ARE CONFIDENT HE HAS NO "EVIDENCE" OF A US CAMPAIGN AGAINST HIM, HE PROBABLY DOES BELIEVE THAT THE US IS NOT COMMITTED TO HIS POLITICAL SURVIVAL. SINCE THEREFORE WE ARE NOT WITH HIM, IN HIS COSMOLOGY WE MUST BE AGAINST HIM.

8. ACTIONS SUCH AS THE BAN ON TEAR-GAS SHIPMENTS, THE DELAY IN THE PRESIDENT'S CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE, THE RUMORS WHICH HAVE ABOUNDED IN PAKISTAN OF US SUPPORT FOR THE OPPOSITION, AND HIS FEARS THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION FAVOR INDIA HAVE DEEPLY WOUNDED THE PRIDE OF THIS ARROGANT YET DEEPLY INSECURE MAN. AS A RESULT, HE HAS PLACED US, AT LEAST TEMPORARILY, IN THE ENEMY CAMP. I DO NOT BELIEVE, (ALTHOUGH A CAREFUL ASSESSMENT OF THIS IS DIFFICULT FOR US TO MAKE) THAT THE ANTI-AMERICAN CAMPAIGN HAS FOUND A DEEP RESONANCE IN PAKISTAN. FOR THIS DESPERATE MAN IT

HAS BEEN USEFUL, HOWEVER, IN GIVING HIS OWN WEAKENED PARTY  
A RALLYING CRY AND FOR THE MOMENT IN STAUNCHING THE FLOW  
OF DEFECTIONS TO THE OPPOSITION BY RADICAL LEFTIST LABOR  
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LEADERS AND THEIR SYMPATHYZERS, PARTICULARLY  
IN LAHORE - THE HEART OF THE ALL-IMPORTANT PUNJAB.

9. THE KEY TO OUR FUTURE RELATIONSHIP, AS LONG AS BHUTTO  
REMAINS IN POWER, IS THE PERSONALITY, MOOD AND POLITICAL  
GOALS OF THIS COMPLEX INDIVIDUAL. ALTHOUGH BHUTTO STILL  
RULES PAKISTAN, HIS ABILITY TO GOVERN REMAINS SEVERELY  
CIRCUMSCRIBED. SEVERE PRESS CENSORSHIP HAS GREATLY CUT BACK  
ON REPORTS OF DOMESTIC DISTURBANCES, BUT WE KNOW THAT ANTI-  
GOVERNMENT PROCESSIONS AND DEMONSTRATIONS OCCUR DAILY ACCROS  
THE COUNTRY. ALTHOUGH HE MANGAGES TO KEEP THE LID ON THROUGH  
THE USE OF THE ARMY, POLICE AND FEDERAL SECURITY FORCES,  
THE SITUATION REMAINS UNSTABLE AND VOLATILE AND UNTIL SOME  
SORT OF FINAL POLITICAL ACCOMMODATION WITH THE OPPOSITION  
IS REACHED, THE DESTRUCTIVE STRAINS ON THE NATION WILL  
CONTINUE. (THERE ARE SOME HOPEFUL SIGNS A POLITICAL ACCOMMODATION  
NOW IN THE WORKS. IF THIS EVENTUALTES, WE WILL OF COURSE HAVE TO  
ASSESS ITS MEANING IN TERMS OF 7.S.-PAK RELATIONS FOLLOWING  
YOUR MEETING WITH AZIZ AHMED.)

10. BHUTTO IS A MAN CONSIDERABLY CHANGED BY THE EVENTS  
OF THE PAST FOUR MONTHS. BELEAGURERED AND BESIEGED, BARELY  
HOLDING THE LID ON A TRUBLENT LAW AND ORDER PROBLEM,  
PUZZLED BY THE DRAMATIC DECLINE IN HIS POLITICAL FORTUNES,  
HE IS MORE SUBDUED AND LESS EBULLIENT THAN THE BHUTTO OF  
JANUARY. ALTHOUGH HE TRIES TO MAINTAIN THE PUBLIC FRONT  
OF THE MAIN IN CONTROL, AN AIR OF BRAVADO AND ARTIFICIALITY  
SURROUNDS HIM.

11. HIS EGOTISM AND PRIDE AND THE CONFIDENCE HE IS DOING  
WHAT IS RIGHT FOR PAKISTAN REMAIN UNDIMINISHED. BUT THE  
COMBINATION OF EGOMANIA AND INSECURITY MAKE FOR A PRIME  
MINISTER WHOSE POLICIES ARE LESS CONSISTENT AND LESS  
STABLE THAN THEY WERE FORMERLY. THE NORMAL CAUTION WITH  
WHICH WE DEAL WITH HIS WILY AND POLITICALLY ASTUTE  
LEADER SHOULD BE REINFORCED.

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12. CONSIDERING BHUTTO'S STYLE OF NEGOTATIONS, AND THE  
STATEMENT IN BURKI'S ARTICLE THAT A SECOND ROUND OF

TALKS WILL PROBABLY BE NECESSARY, YOU SHOULD BE PREPARED  
FOR THE POSSIBILITY THAT AZIZ AHMED MAY PROPOSE MEETING  
AGAIN TO DISCUSS THE SPECIFICS OF WHERE WE GO FROM HERE.  
IF THIS HAPPENS, AND YOUR SCHEDULE ALLOWS, I WOULD RECOMMEND  
THAT HE BE INVITED TO WASHINGTON FOR TALKS AT A MUTUALLY  
CONVENIENT TIME. AS WE MENTIONED IN AN EARLIER MESSAGE,  
I WOULD BE CHARY OF YOUR ACCEPTING AN INVITATION TO VISIT  
PAKISTAN AT THIS TIME FOR A SECOND ROUND OF TALKS BECAUSE  
OF OUR CONCERN IT WOULD BE TOUTED HERE BY THE GOVERNMENT  
AS A PILGRIMAGE TO CANOSSA.  
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